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AMERICA MISTRESS OF THE SEAS.

BY CAPTAIN R. P. HOBSON, U. S. N.

THE two facts of the century just closed that portend most for the human race are the rise of Russia and the growth of the United States.

Within these two nations are gathering mighty factors of national power, mightier factors than have yet appeared in the history of the world, factors resembling in general nature but exceeding in magnitude those that brought forth the Empire of Rome and the British Empire—cumulative factors that mark Russia for a military empire destined to throw Rome into the shade, and the United States for a mighty Naval Power toward which the vast power of Great Britain is but a stepping-stone.

In the United States we find elements of power, numbers and vigor of population and material resources, without a parallel in history, together with conditions never yet equalled—maritime frontiers, vast material interests, and sacred principles—which demand the growth of power upon the sea.

In population, the United States is half again as large as Germany, nearly twice as large as the white population of the British Empire, nearly twice as large as Austria-Hungary, and more than twice as large as France. The population of the United States is increasing twice as rapidly as the population of Germany, and three times as rapidly as the population of Great Britain and the other nations of Europe, while it has from twelve to fifteen times the space to expand in, with a richness of soil that would enable the United States to support a population equal to the present population of the earth, without taxing the soil beyond the degree now existing in Europe; and every improvement in transportation and means of intercommunication will cause the United States to draw off more and more the hardy and vigorous people

of Europe, and thus to make even a greater disparity in the rate of increase.

Moreover, the average American, man for man, is from two to five times as vigorous as the average European. The average American man is an inch taller than the average Englishman, who is the tallest man in Europe, and the average American eats about twice as much strong food as the average Englishman, who is the best fed man in Europe.

In the United States, furthermore, about two and a half times as much is spent *per capita* for education as is spent in England and Germany, which stand at the top of the list in Europe.

The average American wheat-grower produces three times as much wheat as the average English wheat-grower, four times as much as the average French, five times as much as the average German. Similar averages are found in the output of manufactured articles. The output per man in American locomotive works is twice as large as the output in the English locomotive works, which stand first in Europe. The average American wields about 2,000 foot-tons of mechanical energy per day; the average Englishman about 1,500; the average Frenchman and German about 900; and the other averages in Europe are below 500.

There are in the United States nearly 100,000 more members of the international organization, the Young Men's Christian Association, than there are in all the rest of the world combined. If a famine occurs in Russia, or a cataclysm in the Islands of the Seas, the first relief ships sail from American shores. An American army besieging the City of Santiago feeds the women, children and old men, instead of starving these to reduce the city. America, concluding a war with a fallen foe, restrains its fleet and pays twenty millions of dollars, instead of ravaging the enemy's coast and exacting two hundred millions for war indemnity. America, after pouring out blood and treasure, gives Cuba its independence.

Every test goes to show that Americans, with a few generations of free life in a free continent, are already, physically, intellectually and spiritually, a race of giants.

For vigor in warfare, no such manifestations are found in history as were shown in the American Civil War. Though having but 16,000 men in the United States Army at the beginning, the war involved numbers twice as large as the hordes of Xerxes, the

casualties alone being 200,000 more than there were soldiers altogether in the German armies that invaded France in the Franco-Prussian War. Campaigns in that war, for distances covered and obstacles overcome, have no parallel, except, perhaps, in Hannibal's invasion of Italy; while numerous battle-fields counted percentage losses from three to five times as great as the bloodiest on record, those of Napoleon and Frederick the Great. In the supreme test of individual fighting, as shown by regimental records, there were over five hundred cases in the Civil War where the losses of single regiments in single engagements exceeded the loss of the Light Brigade at Balaclava, and one hundred and twenty-five cases exceeding the record of the German Army in the war with France.

For vigor in naval warfare, no such record exists in the world as that of the American Navy. In the war of 1812, the British Navy was at the zenith of its glory, fresh from the victories of Nelson, having counted an almost unbroken record of 200 victories with European foes. The force sent against America was seven times as strong as the American Navy; eighteen battles were fought, and fifteen were won by the American ships, with losses less than one-sixth the British losses.

In the Spanish-American war, the American Navy simultaneously broke two world records, first with cruising vessels against cruising vessels at Manila, then with armored vessels against armored vessels at Santiago, achieving in both cases a mathematical maximum of fighting efficiency, compassing the total destruction of the enemy without any loss to the victor. The American Navy alone of all the navies of the earth, has never known defeat.

Together with its vast, vigorous population, the United States has unmeasured natural resources, a domain from sea to sea spanning the temperate zone, in richness of soil, the Earth's Garden Area, holding below the soil one-third of the known mineral deposits of the earth, having matchless waterways, the granary, butchery and workshop of the world.

Thus, with a heavy preponderance of numbers, great superiority of vigor, and matchless natural resources, the United States, compared with other Powers, has stupendous elements of world influence.

This world influence can rest only upon sea power. Our frontiers are all maritime. Though Canada is a hostage from the

British Empire, our contact with that Empire, as with all the World Powers, is the sea. The conditions and mighty forces are wonderfully concurrent for bringing forth naval growth, sure, swift, irresistible.

We have in the United States, 17,000 miles of coast-line, and on this coast-line, and upon the harbors and great rivers leading up from the coast-line, we have built innumerable cities representing accumulations of more homes and property vulnerable from the sea than are found on all the coast-line, harbors and navigable rivers of the continent of Europe combined. Fortifications, mines and torpedoes have been, and still are, useful accessories in coast defence, but they never have arrested, and they cannot now effectually stop, a determined commander of a strong fleet.

The only accident policy, the only insurance, the only adequate guarantee of security, for all this property, for all these homes, upon which depends the happiness of so many millions of American citizens, is the Navy; and the prosperity of the inland population is inseparably bound up with the prosperity of the coastwise populations. Moreover, without adequate protection, this exposed side of the nation would be a standing invitation for attack from nations jealous of our commercial ascendancy.

Estimating legitimate naval requirements from coast-line exposure, the Navy of the United States should be the largest in the world.

Besides the largest amount of coast property, the United States has the largest amount of water-borne property exposed to attack from the sea, billions upon billions in coastwise, river and lake trade, and exports now the largest in the world, exceeding \$1,500,000,000 annually. When we are at war, the Navy only can prevent blockade of our ports, and insure the departure of this property; the Navy only can give safe convoy or a clear road for passage. When Europe is at war, the Navy only can insure our rights as a neutral, and permit us to realize the security of our isolation, and render us, in fact as in word, independent of European turmoil.

Estimating legitimate naval requirements by the quantity of exposed water-borne property, the Navy of the United States, again, should be the largest in the world.

But the huge figures of \$1,500,000,000 of American property

now shipped annually over the seas, is only an introduction to the coming importance of over-sea markets. With the differentiation of labor and the increasing necessity for free exchange of products, the national importance of foreign markets is, in a general way, proportional to the productiveness of the nation, notwithstanding the importance of the home markets. With the United States now producing one-third of the world's foodstuffs, one-third of the world's mineral products, eight-tenths of the world's principal article of clothing, while she stands but on the threshold of her possibilities of production in these fields; with the United States now employing more mechanical energy than all Europe combined, and now producing \$12,500,000,000 annually of manufactured articles, more than the combined manufactured articles of Great Britain, Germany and France, while its rate of increase of manufactured articles is twice as great as the rate of increase in Europe; with the United States thus advancing by leaps and bounds, and already almost at the point where it will produce as much as all Europe combined, the matter of foreign markets, important for all the nations, is of supreme importance for us.

While the domestic markets of the other great Powers offer an inviting field, they are subject to embarrassment by local legislation. The markets of most importance for all the great nations are the new markets of undeveloped lands, where all may have an equal chance. These markets are of vital importance to a nation making such giant strides as the United States is making in industrial and commercial expansion. In the fierce and fiercer-growing competition of the great Powers for advantage in new markets over the seas, where the local people themselves can make but feeble show of power, the security of the nation's interests can rest only upon the nation's fleets.

To emphasize the far-reaching importance of this question, take the case of the new market of China. From long experience in the reconstruction of the gunboats raised at Manila and reconstructed at Hong-kong, I can testify that the industrial capacity of the Chinese is scarcely below that of Americans, while from careful investigation I should estimate the average wages of a hard-working man in China at less than six cents a day. These two facts have a momentous significance. China will be opened up. The disturbances which drew the attention of the world and which were the occasion of opening the eyes of the soldiers sent

there as to conditions existing in the Orient—who, in turn, spread the knowledge broadcast over all parts of the world—will but accelerate a movement already rapid; and soon we shall see more than one-quarter of the human race double, then quadruple, then increase tenfold, then twentyfold its productiveness, demanding, as the standard of life rises with the rate of wages, double, quadruple, then tenfold, then twentyfold more products from the rest of the world. The history of the world does not record a parallel to the magnitude of the economic impulsion that will be felt, an impulsion overtopping that felt in the Renaissance and at the discovery of America.

In this coming market of China, the United States has an incontestible right to an equal chance. Moreover, lying, as she does, midway between Europe and Asia, with the Atlantic and Gulf coast-line and the Mississippi Valley to be brought by the Isthmian Canal, along with the Pacific Coast, face to face with the Orient, and being the pre-eminent producing nation with a natural elasticity and adaptability, she should with a fair chance and no favor hold control in the Chinese market.

Over this field, fraught with so much of vital interest, there is a danger line. China herself can offer no resistance to aggression. The European nations, which fought long and bloody wars for the American continents that offered only virgin resources, and for India with its slothful population, will strive for control in China, where, with unmeasured virgin resources, there is an ocean of wealth in the industrial population. Protestations and treaties to the contrary notwithstanding, the European nations will have a steady set toward the seizure of China.

History shows that the conquering nation invariably absorbs the commerce of the conquered. Promises of an open door will not suffice. Our recognized rights to an equal chance in China's markets can rest in security only upon a strong policy that will not permit the partition of China. For such a policy, the United States must rely on herself alone, and must maintain in the Far East a comparatively large fleet.

Similar conditions hold for the important coming markets of South America, markets of the present and immediate future, and of the more distant though not overdistant future when European and American immigration will develop a second America.

Generally, similar conditions hold for all the other new markets of the world; and we may say broadly, for all over-sea markets, that the security of America's trade interests must depend upon the size of her fleets. Having interests great and wide-flung, and increasing more rapidly than those of any other nation, the United States should have the greatest navy in the world. Here again, our insurance against attempts to invade our rights, and thus for the security of our peace, will rest upon the size of our Navy.

Thus, from considerations of material interests far-reaching and vital to our country's welfare—considerations that involve the security of our coast, the protection of our water-borne commerce, the safeguarding of our rights in foreign markets and new markets, our interests in each of these cases being larger than those of any other nation—from each and every consideration of material interest upon which the legitimate size of a navy should be computed, the United States should maintain the greatest navy in the world; indeed, the size being proportioned to her needs, the Navy of the United States should be almost equal to the combined navies of the world.

But material interests are not the only considerations that should prompt the United States to maintain a great navy. We have sacred principles committed to our charge which can be upheld only by a great navy.

We have not receded one step from the Monroe Doctrine of our forefathers, yet South America is as far from us as it is from Europe. When the race for South-American markets becomes close, and when the growing European immigration to South America becomes stronger and more controlling, we can maintain the Monroe Doctrine there, and be guaranteed against an assault upon it, only by being able to send to South America as large a fleet as Europe could send.

But Americans now living have a greater Monroe Doctrine to uphold. We may differ among ourselves in judgment as to methods adopted and to be adopted with the Philippine Islands; but no earnest American would willingly see his country stand aside and allow those 10,000,000 of helpless people, now committed to our charge, to pass under the yoke of a European monarchy. In other words, the Monroe Doctrine has already crossed the Pacific and to-day covers the Philippine Archipelago.

Yet, the Philippine Islands are more than 8,000 miles away across the seas. How can we, a nation of action that means what it says, how can we fulfil our bounden duty of protection for the Filipinos except through a strong Navy?

But in principle the Monroe Doctrine should have wider extension, an extension limited only by our nation's opportunities and possibilities for world influence. The white race, in possession of the truths of science and the forces of nature, now controls the destinies of the yellow and black races, though these number nearly three times the entire white race. In the action of the great white nations, controlling the happiness of these hundreds of millions, the United States should have a strong and determining influence. Would it not be selfish and cowardly in us to stand off and see the destinies of these myriads of helpless people dominated by the harsh methods of European monarchies and despotisms?

No man liveth unto himself, neither does any nation; no individual enjoys a blessing without a concurrent responsibility to his fellows, neither does any nation. With nations as with men, Heaven requires works proportionate to talents and opportunities.

We are the only completely liberal nation of the earth. Europe has been evolved by series of conquests, the processes of which have left its society stratified, men and women living and dying where they are born, the vast bulk being born peasants. We have been evolved by free processes only, never ruling over others, and never being ruled over ourselves, producing in our body social and body politic a homogeneous medium, in which men and women rise and fall and seek their levels, according to their relative weights, according to individual force and usefulness, according to individual attainments and worth. Being the only completely liberal nation of the earth, we are constituted the champion of free institutions, and the advocate of human liberties for the whole earth.

It was no mere chance that planted the foot of America at the Gateway of the Orient, the habitat of the teeming millions. Our forefathers laid down the Monroe Doctrine when they numbered less than 10,000,000 of population, shortly after our shores had been invaded. Now, with more than 80,000,000 of population, having passed beyond the point where any nation or combination of nations could invade our shores and threaten the nation's life,

with unparalleled elements of power and influence, I do not believe I over-estimate our enlarged responsibilities, or over-estimate our possibilities of realizing practical world policies, when I say that Americans of to-day should extend the Monroe Doctrine to cover the Empire of China. We have a perfect right to say that China shall not be partitioned. In addition, I think we should say to the Powers of Europe, "We will join you in opening up China. It is best for China and for the world that life and property should be secure and Western methods have free course throughout that empire; but we propose that China shall be opened up as Japan was opened up, by the American method—not as India was opened up, and as Africa is being opened up, by the European monarchical method, that involves the conquest and subjugation of the peoples."

Further, without venturing to intermeddle with affairs of others, I believe we should extend the Monroe Doctrine into an American Doctrine that would exert influence and lend a helping hand to all the less happy peoples of the earth, creating and exerting powerful influence for the oppressed of all lands, and for all the yellow and black peoples as they come under the dominion of the white race—a doctrine that would exalt the idea of responsibility and duty, making the best interests of these peoples the guiding purpose of the great nations.

In advancing such a doctrine, we should render a service not only to the belated races themselves, but to the white nations and the world at large, ourselves included, increasing the industrial productiveness and thereby the commerce of the world, and adding to the intellectual and spiritual progress of the races, which would be a moral asset for the world.

Further, we are the only innately peaceful nation of the great Powers. The European Powers are organized for invasion and for repelling of invasion, the nations constituting great military camps, where war and warfare, the military and militarism, permeate and mould the minds and character of the peoples. In America, the contrast is complete; with no wish for conquest, no dread of invasion, free from the military, Americans are engaged in and absorbed by the useful pursuits of peace. Indeed, the absorption of individual business is so complete and personal liberty is so secure, that the citizens forget public affairs—this forgetfulness constituting, in fact, an incidental weakness from

which flows periodically bad government in the cities and slackness in our national purposes, especially our foreign policies, a weakness that should be reduced to a minimum by every thoughtful citizen making it a point, whether entering politics himself or not, to take an interest in public affairs.

Being the only fundamentally peaceful people of the world, we are constituted the advocate and champion of peace for the world.

Moreover, in championing peace as in championing free institutions, we should render a service to the world, including ourselves. War that would injure the British Empire, with which we have \$800,000,000 annual commerce, would injure us in injuring our market; similarly, war that would injure France would injure us; war that would injure Germany would injure us; an injury to any part of the human race would be an injury to us and the whole race.

In addition, engaged in peaceful pursuits, we learn to appreciate and respect the rights of others, and are coming more and more to recognize the principle that advantage as well as right lies not in injuring one's neighbor, not in reducing his happiness, but actually in helping him and adding to his happiness—that an increase of happiness for any citizen is an asset for the community, that an advance in the welfare of any people is an asset for the world. With our wonderful system of government, too, where each unit retains control of the affairs of the unit and participates in the common affairs in the measure warranted by its interests involved, we are evolving the only system which can be extended indefinitely, and which can lead to a brotherhood of the nations in which they could live in peace with each other, each attending to its own affairs, having only its just weight in the common council, while endeavoring not to injure other nations, but actually to help them as much as possible.

As pointed out above, the world influence of our country must rest upon the Navy alone; it is only through a great Navy that we can extend our Monroe Doctrine to China, through it alone can we give effect to our general advocacy of free institutions, to our advocacy of peace and of the brotherhood of man. Our forefathers and fathers were nobly engaged and showed a splendid devotion when they colonized our country, won its independence, founded the government, perfected its institutions and perpetu-

ated the nation. Our country has now graduated, and we of this generation are called upon to shape its course as it steps forth into the world to play its part as a World Power, to inaugurate its career of world service. We should be unworthy of our inheritance, did we not lay out and seek for our country a mighty and beneficent rôle, to fill its majestic and glorious opportunities and possibilities for useful service to mankind.

For this glorious rôle, that we should all covet for our country, for fulfilling our sacred duties as a nation, we must maintain a great navy.

To meet these demands of sacred principles that appeal to the conscience, as for those of material interests, the United States should have the largest navy in the world; indeed, the proportions would not be strained if the Navy of the United States equalled the combined navies of the earth.

Furthermore, conditions are such in the world, with the great European nations holding each other in check, one Power against another, one alliance against another, that the United States with a mighty navy can hold the balance of power for the world, and can cast the deciding vote in the councils of the nations where world policies are determined, where questions of war and peace are considered. It is hardly overstating the case to say that, with a dominating navy, the United States can dictate peace to the world and can wonderfully hasten the reign of beneficence in world policies.

Let all earnest men and women, who wish for the reign of peace and good-will on earth, realize the fact that, though Hague Conferences and International Peace Societies are useful, the real practical way to hasten this reign is to place control in the hands of the nation of peace, the nation of liberty, the nation of beneficent promptings; let them realize that the United States Navy, which alone can give control to the nation, is thus the bulwark of human liberty, the agent of peace, the instrument of brotherly love.

No one need have apprehension as to the effect on our institutions of having a great navy. No navy ever overthrew any government in the history of the world. With a navy equal to the combined navies of the earth, the numbers of citizens involved would be but a little handful out on the sea, and however strict in discipline and military methods they may be among themselves,

the body of the nation would remain unaffected. There could not be the slightest tendency toward militarism; while the accompanying sense of power and of control would but deepen, in the minds and hearts of men engaged only in peaceful pursuits, the feeling of responsibility, quickening the nation's conscience, advancing the nation's moral development. Indeed, noble efforts for other nations and for the world would be a wholesome tonic for our nation. Breathing the purer air of such an exalted station would quicken the pulse of the nation and send a brighter, stronger current to eliminate morbid germs from all the tissues of the body politic, offsetting tendencies toward commercialism and materialism.

It is of momentous significance that naval power can go hand in hand with complete liberalism, the struggle for supremacy being simply a race for wealth. Here the liberal nations, in which productiveness is the prime incentive, where the population remains in productive pursuits, will hold the controlling advantage. It is naval power that ultimately will give control to the useful and the good, that will give the earth's inheritance to the meek; naval power is the agency for regenerating and redeeming the world.

The resources of the United States, as pointed out above, are so stupendous that if our Navy equalled the combined navies of the earth, the American tax-payer would not be conscious of even the slightest burden, and in the practical work of building ships and preparing them, and organizing a navy, there are no evidences that any nation has greater aptitude, and our shipyards have already the necessary capacity.

While there are thus paramount reasons why we should be the greatest of naval powers, we are to-day only the fourth power, having 550,000 tons of warship displacement. Great Britain has 1,800,000 tons; France has 715,000 tons; Russia has 20,000 tons more than we have; Germany is but little below us and has recently authorized a vast increase, equivalent to doubling and trebling her entire naval force. The other Powers have also undertaken large programmes of construction. At the session of Congress before the last, not a single new ship was authorized. I do not believe the people know this. I believe they wish and will demand, irrespective of party, that every session of Congress make adequate, sure, consecutive appropriation for increases in ships and personnel.

When we recall that it takes three years to build a battle-ship, while an enemy's fleet can leave Europe and appear on our shores in two weeks, when we remember that our naval insufficiency is a constant danger to our peace, while such vital interests are at stake, we cannot fail to recognize the urgency of the situation. We should set forth at once with a steadfast purpose and a carefully thought out progressive programme. It is better to lay out a programme on the basis of appropriation for new construction, rather than a set list with fixed types and numbers, leaving the Navy Department to determine each year the types, and the numbers of each type, to aggregate the proposed appropriation. Taking account of the situation and conditions now existing, I would suggest the following programme,—to start with the appropriation made at the Congress just adjourned, about \$30,000,000, and make an increase of \$5,000,000 for next year, or \$35,000,000 altogether for 1903, and increase this amount by \$5,000,000, or \$40,000,000 altogether, for 1904, and so on, increasing for each year by \$5,000,000 the appropriation of the previous year, making for 1905, \$45,000,000; 1906, \$50,000,000; 1907, \$55,000,000; 1908, \$60,000,000; 1909, \$65,000,000; 1910, \$70,000,000; 1911, \$75,000,000; 1912, \$80,000,000; 1913, \$85,000,000; 1914, \$90,000,000; 1915, \$95,000,000; 1916, \$100,000,000, and so on, till we become the first naval Power. If the European nations continue to build along their present lines, I estimate that we should overtake Great Britain about 1920, when, at the rate indicated, our naval appropriation for new ships would be \$120,000,000. The probabilities are strong, however, that the Powers will accelerate even their present rates of increase, and we could scarcely expect to reach the top before 1930, when the annual appropriation would be \$170,000,000 for new ships.

Pursuing this course, we should prevent Germany from passing us and should ultimately convince even Great Britain that she cannot remain in the race.

Of course, there is a chance that some Power or combination of Powers may endeavor to deal us a staggering blow before we have gathered full speed. For such a case, we should be prepared to accelerate to any required extent the momentary speed of increase. We cannot ignore in this light the gigantic efforts now being put forth by Germany. It is only a dictate of prudence for us not to let Germany pass us. It is possible, too, that our world

interests and the principles we stand for may gradually cause Continental nations to make combinations for the purpose of checking us. We should be alive to any such movement and prepared to make efforts in proportion.

It may be remarked, however, that any present or future effort of a single nation or combination of nations to strike at America's naval growth would but hasten the day of America's naval supremacy. The conditions for supremacy now exist. Mighty forces are at work. The most potential nation in history, standing upon the strategic vantage-ground of the world, with unparalleled equipment, is being called upon by the strongest demands of interest and the most imperative appeals of duty. Like the cumulative processes of nature, the movement will be irresistible. It cannot be checked. The finger of fate is pointing forward. America will be the controlling World Power, holding the sceptre of the sea, reigning in mighty beneficence with the guiding principle of a maximum of world service. She will help all the nations of the earth. Europe will be saved by her young offspring grown to manhood. The race will work out its salvation through the rise of America. I believe this is the will of God.

R. P. HOBSON.